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ABSTRACT

The norms and behaviors appropriate to the world of work which are learned in school are expressed in teacher behavior and the classroom setting. Teacher behavior and classroom organization were examined to determine how they expressed work norms and in what ways they conflicted with the Spanish American culture. Behavioral measures were developed for those values which were most clearly related to success in the modern world of work--time, responsibility, work, and academic achievement. The sample consisted of 4th grade teachers and students in 2 Albuquerque (New Mexico) schools located in the: (1) South Valley, a predominantly Spanish American neighborhood with an almost rural small-town atmosphere, and (2) Southeast "Heights", a predominantly Anglo middle class neighborhood. Data were obtained from: observations of teachers and students over a 9-month period; a 28-item, true-false questionnaire asking whether the teacher's behavior expressed the 4 values; and interviews with 12 pupils from each classroom indicating how this behavior was expressed. Some findings were: (1) Teacher behavior fell into 2 major categories--the management core and the discretionary area; (2) areas of conflict were in following rules and expectations enunciated by the teacher, keeping quiet and overtly passive, keeping busy, and dividing up available time. (NQ)

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WHO FITS THE PROCRUSTEAN BED?:
SPANISH-AMERICAN AND ANGLO CHILDREN VERSUS THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

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This research was based on the assumption that learning is transferable and that a set of responses learned in one situation can be applied in another similar situation. If the norms and behaviors appropriate to the world of work in a complex society are learned in school, then they should be expressed in teacher behavior and the classroom setting. If the norms and behaviors are expressed in the classroom setting, children should indicate agreement with those norms and behaviors if socialization to the work world is accomplished in schools.

The research indicated that work norms are expressed in schools and that children do indicate agreement with them, but literature indicates that certain ethnic groups are able to use those behaviors and norms more effectively than others. In this study, teacher behavior and classroom organization were examined both to determine how they expressed work norms and in what ways they conflicted with Spanish-American culture. The findings show that the conflict of culture between school and home do not prevent Spanish-American children from knowing what they should do in school, but they do suggest aspects of the school experience which keep them from implementing this knowledge to the fullest in school and on the job.

How successful Spanish-American children are in school and on jobs depends upon their socioeconomic status and the opportunities available to them as well as the knowledge learned in school; much of the failure of Spanish-Americans can be attributed to poverty and discrimination rather than to a failure to assimilate to Anglo culture, either through the schools or other means.

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In Albuquerque, New Mexico, where this study was carried out, a tri-cultural heritage ameliorates the impact of discrimination and allows a pattern of acculturation rather than total assimilation. Thus it is possible to maintain Spanish-American identity and still attain success in the work world. Even in this favorable milieu, Spanish-Americans are under-represented in higher professions.[1] This study suggests some of the ways in which their experience in school handicaps the Spanish-American school child from the start.

The Sample

We studied fourth graders in two schools in Albuquerque. The first school was in the South Valley, in a predominantly Spanish-American neighborhood with an almost rural, small-town atmosphere. The second school was located in the Southeast "Heights," a comfortable middle class neighborhood with a largely Anglo population.

Most of the Spanish-American children in the Valley school (the predominantly Spanish-American school) had lived in Albuquerque all their lives and most had attended Valley school since first grade. All of them were fluent in English; there were no instances of derogatory comments by teachers about the students' use of English or about their ethnicity. Spanish celebrations and customs were often incorporated in classroom activities; teacher favorites were no more often Spanish-American than Anglo.

Heights school's Anglo population was much more mobile; only a fourth of the children had attended that school since first grade. Many had parents attached to Kirkland Airforce Base and had come from other states. Of the few Spanish-American children in the school, many had recently moved to the Heights from the Valley, a sign of social advancement.

There were striking differences in administrative style between the schools; Valley school had many experimental programs and outside resource personnel; it was "open" for teachers, students, and the community. Heights School was firmly controlled by a principal wary of innovation and proud of the high achievement scores of her students. Even more striking than the stylistic differences was the difference in the students' levels of achievement. Although none of the teachers felt that this year's class was unusually slow, the children in Heights school were doing New Math and division, while the Valley school children were still learning "times tables." And children in Heights school were reading with far greater facility and on a higher level than in Valley school.

Acculturation versus Assimilation in New Mexico

Albuquerque seems to represent a mid-point in the total experience of Spanish-Americans. It has neither the oppressive discrimination of Texas border towns[2] nor the disorganization and anomie of large cities like Los Angeles.[3]

Spanish-Americans have lived in and been influential in the economy and politics of New Mexico for centuries. Even in the largest cities in New Mexico, the line separating urban from rural areas is blurred, so that some urban dwellers live in areas which are more like rural villages than urban slums. The impact of migration to the city is diminished in these circumstances, where the newcomer frequently moves in with relatives. Contact with rural relative can be maintained because of good roads to the villages. Communication and contact help to maintain certain aspects of village life in cities, particularly family arrangements and kinship ties, like the in-

stitution of compadrazgo ("godparenthood").[4] Another factor tending to ameliorate the impact of Anglo culture is the desire of the Spanish, Indians, and Anglos of New Mexico to maintain the unique tri-cultural flavor of the state. In this atmosphere, the pressure for Spanish-Americans to assimilate rapidly to Anglo culture is lessened.

Assimilation implies an identification with another reference group--an intrinsic adoption of the values of another culture or reference group. Acculturation, on the other hand, implies adoption of certain traits belonging to a different reference group, but not all, and not to the exclusion of one's own culture.[5] Shibutani suggests that acculturation can take place without assimilation; a "minority group can alter their culture but still retain consciousness of kind."[6] Andrew Greeley suggests that this alteration takes place in a series of stages.[7] Nancie Gonzales describes this pattern in New Mexico:

> Within the Hispano population several different patterns of adaptation exist. There are many for whom urbanization has meant greater poverty, social disorganization, and loss of moral standards highly valued in the rural environment, [but] there are some who have considerably improved their situation . . . by better jobs, education, skills, plus retention of a home and family life similar to the traditional one found in the literature. It could be said of this group that instead of changing from one mode of life to another, it has both retained the old and added the new. The process of acculturation then, is not necessarily synonymous with acculturation to Anglo culture, though this may be the long range trend.[8]

In Albuquerque, it seems that changes in values have occurred first in the areas of business, schooling, and work, and later, if at all, in family structure and social relations.

Poverty, Culture Conflict and the Schools

It is commonly held that the high drop-out rates of "minority"

students can be explained by a conflict between school and home culture. The school, it is felt, reflects the dominant Anglo culture and in ignoring the culture of the non-Anglo, squeezes him out. Much of the "culture clash" can be dismissed as stereotypic thinking, in that Spanish-Americans are inappropriately described as lazy or incapable of engaging in scientific thought. Other attributes often ascribed to ethnic groups are more properly consequences of low socioeconomic status. For example, it is alleged that Spanish-American children suffer from low self-concepts, but studies indicate that when SES is controlled, Spanish-Americans have no worse self-concepts than Anglos, and have higher level or self-acceptance.[9]

Notwithstanding economic factors, many differences in outlook and behavior do exist among ethnic groups; some of these have consequences for success in school. The school presents values and behaviors that facilitate success in a technological, competitive society. For many children, the school is the first place where they meet the full brunt of a value system stressing competitiveness, a "work ethic," a set of impersonal, institutional requirements. Some of the key values of Anglo and Spanish-American culture meet and clash in the schools; a child's success in adapting to the school will determine how well he does in the world of work.

Spanish-American Values and Anglo Values

Some of the key points of conflict between Anglo values and Spanish-American values are enumerated below.[10]

1. Sex Roles and Family Structure

In the Spanish family, males are dominant, active, and independent of women; women are submissive and dependent. Anglo society presupposes

far more equality of opportunity among the sexes, and does not so explicitly place women in a subordinate role. One may say that sex roles are more clearly defined in Spanish society than in Anglo.

2. Time

Spanish-Americans are said to be "present-oriented," that is, time is a "gift of life" to be enjoyed. Gratifications should not be postponed; the concept of wasting time is not understood. The Anglo is preoccupied with the proper use of time. Time is valuable, like money, and should be spent properly. One has to be "on time" and fit into the schedule of the work world.

3. Achievement, Competition

Spanish-Americans, with their ties to a social system based upon village life and kinship ties, discourage competition. It is not compatible with family life or interpersonal relations; since success was measured in terms of benefits for all, competition could not be used for individual gain. In Anglo society, individual achievement is paramount, and competition is an integral part of achievement. It permeates all aspects of life--in sports, scholastic endeavor, occupations, even social life. Tremendous concern for success, for being best, is evidenced.

4. Work

Americans believe that thrift and hard work are virtues in themselves. [Among Spanish-Americans] Idleness and leisure are not sinful corruptions but worthwhile goals to be sought. Hard work is the common and accepted lot, but it is a necessity, a means to an end, not a virtue.[11]

5. Accountability and Responsibility

Contractual relationships are crucial to industrialized society. People are held accountable both for what they promise and for the rules of the institutions of which they are a part. The notions of accountability and responsibility probably exist in all societies; but the Spanish-American is expected to be accountable to institutions and practices which are both different from his culture and over which he has no control. The Spanish-American is held accountable for behaving in accordance with institutions whose norms may violate his cultural background. The schools are one of these institutions.

Anglo Values and the School

Four of the values outlined above--time, work, responsibility, and achievement--are those felt to be most clearly related to success in the modern world of work.[12] The school is the child's place of work, and going to school is the first step a child takes away from a more particularistic family setting toward the work world.[13] This research indicates that work values are indeed given strong emphasis in the school. The dilemma for the Spanish-American child is that the crucial values for work (and success) are also those which are crucial for success in school, and they are at least in part incompatible with his heritage. The question is, how are the values expressed in the school, what dimensions are stressed, and how do children react to them?

Parenthetical Notes on Two Areas of Conflict

One obvious way in which the school ignored Spanish culture was that Spanish was not spoken in school, even on the playground. State law requires

the use of Spanish as a medium of instruction, but as late as 1930, most of the children in rural New Mexico were being taught in Spanish. After 1930, Senator Chavez and others made a great effort to promote English so that Spanish-Americans would be able to compete with Anglos. Most influential in this effort were those who had benefited economically by knowing English.[14] Children are no longer beaten for speaking Spanish in school, as they were previously, but neither is Spanish used except in a few schools where a new bilingual program has been instituted.[15]

The other obvious conflict focused upon Anglo notions of achievement and success; ability grouping based upon language arts was used in all four classrooms. Ability grouping reinforces a child's capacity to evaluate himself as the school does. Since Anglos are oriented to measuring their self-worth in terms of their academic or job status, such a uni-dimensional emphasis in the schools may not be uncomfortable for them, but Spanish-Americans do not find academic success so crucial to their feelings of self-worth. Ability grouping evaluates only one facet of the personality, and perhaps not the one which Spanish-Americans value most. In the schools, however, they must compete in an unfamiliar area, judged by standards which have less meaning for them than they do for Anglos. This is not to say that Spanish-American children do not accept the validity of ability groupings in the school--they do, they understand how it is done, and they generally accept the groups into which they are put.

The Values to be Studied

In addition to these obvious areas of conflict, there were more subtle ones which were the main focus of the study. These were.

1. Responsibility and accountability--that is, a notion of contractual behavior;

2. Work ethic--that is, a belief in work as a measure of self-respect;

3. Academic achievement as a measure of one's self-esteem--I concentrated upon the ways in which teachers stressed the need to achieve and the development of a classroom hierarchy based upon grades, since academic achievement in the child's place of work, the school, can be used as a proxy for occupatinnal success;

4. A time orientation based upon schedules and the usage of time.

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Design of the Study

In order to collect the data, I spent abou. 33 hours in each of the four classrooms over a period of nine months, observing the teachers and students. Behavioral measures of the above values were developed (see Appendix 1) prior to the actual collection of data, and augmented as the research progressed. Once the values for study had been selectgd and behavioral measures develpped, the activities which took place during the day were categorized (see Appendix 2) so that both the amount of time spent in each category of behavior, and the categories which had the highest density of behaviors reinforcing the four values became apparent. This was done by coding the observational notes in accordance with Appendix 1, a schema of behaviors reinforcing the four values.

Further Dimensions of the Values Under Study

As the research progressed, several dimensions of time, responsibility, work, and achievement evaluation appeared. These were:

1. Responsibility

   a. Learning and following the rules--which is, in a sense, a con-

tract, even though it is not voluntary on the part of the child. It means that the child is held accountable for doing what the teacher says, acting in accordance with her expectations, in return for which she imparts information in accordance with her estimation of the child's ability.

b. Becoming autonomous, self-directed, capable of taking initiative. This implies an expectation of growing maturity and "good citizenship."

c. A voluntary contract, where teacher and student enter into reciprocal relationships, and a child learns the duties and obligations implied in such a relationship.

2. Time

a. As a commodity or resource capable of wise or foolish allocation.

b. A pattern or schedule into which one's person must fit and within the constraints of which one must work.

3. Achievement

a. External criteria, or, what the teacher expects of the child.

b. Self-imposed criteria, or what the child expects of himself.

c. Peer criteria, or what the other children expect from each member of the group.

4. Work

a. Simply being busy in any activity--any, that is, which is sanctioned by the teacher.

b. A serious activity, as opposed to play. In the words of the children, it meant doing what your teachers wanted you do do, not what you wanted to do

The dimensions were expressed in teacher behavior and classroom organization; those stressed most heavily were ones most likely to conflict with Spanish-American cultural values. These were:

1. Responsibility--as defined by learning rules and living up to teacher expectations.

2. Time, as both a schedule and a commodity.

3. Achievement, as defined by teacher criterion.

4. Work as both busy-ness and as a serious activity.

Summary of Findings

The observational data produced two major findings. First, the time allocations for various classroom activities do not seem congruent with the needs of Spanish-American children. Second, teacher behavior falls into two major categories; one--called the management core--is related to the institutional demands of the school, and expresses the above cited value dimensions. These dimensions seem to be those most likely to create tensions with Spanish-American children. The second category of teacher behavior is called the discretionary area, which is based upon teacher style and may or may not create problems for the minority children, depending upon the style the teacher chose.

The Predominance of Passivity

Classroom activities (see Appendix 2) fell into three broad categories. These are:

1. Passive activities;
2. Responsive activities;
3. Maintenance activities.

Passive activities include seatwork, circulating, tutoring, reading a story, and "other," and require that the children be passive. They only interact briefly with the teacher, and not at all with their peers. During some of these activities, the child as a passive receiver of data; during the others, though he may be deeply involved with the schoolwork before him, he is not engaged in any kind of social activity. To enter a room where children are engaged in these five activities is to find stillness.[16]

Discussions, checking, boardwork, explication, games, and reading

aloud require some kind of activity or response of the child. Although the required response is often limited to specific right answers which the teacher wishes to elicit, children become deeply involved in these activities, vying with one another to be called upon by the teacher. A spirit of competition pervades these activities when they are coupled with an emphasis on responding with the "right" answer. They offer little opportunity for creative thinking on the part of the child and little escape for the child who is not motivated by competition.

The third category, maintenance activities, consists of "settling down" and "getting organized," and includes all those times when the teacher engages in the classroom management and "people handling" necessary to keep the day moving more or less smoothly and a modicum of work in progress.

The passive category comprises about 54 percent of the total activity time during the day; responsive activities take up about 24 percent and maintenance accounts for about 21 percent.[17]

This breakdown seems to be an accurate picture of three of the classrooms. For the fourth, an "open classroom," it is somewhat misleading, because although the children were engaged in what I have called seatwork for long periods of time, they were interacting with the teacher more than they would have been in a traditional classroom.[18] She circulated constantly, and the degree of student passivity was considerably less. The students also had more opportunity to work together in small groups.

The very high percentage of time children spend in passive activity, that is, in working alone, confirms that school is a place where people begin to learn to "be alone in a crowd."[19] It also seems to reflect a societal belief in the value of being on one's own, of independence, and of in-

dividual rather than collective effort. In a society like the Spanish-American which is more collectively and responsively oriented than is Anglo society, this is not the most efficacious allocation of time and activity. In Valley school, there were considerable differences in classroom climate between the open and the traditional classroom.

In the open classroom, where children were allowed to work together frequently and were encouraged to solve problems, interpersonal and intellectual, together, there was less acting-out behavior, tattling, and ill-will among the students than in the traditional classrooms, where a "needs-press" was clearly evident among the Spanish children, especially the boys. Even in responsive activities the amount of initiative children were allowed was limited; opportunities for children to initiate discussion and plan their activities fell into the discretionary area and were extensively utilized only in the open classroom.

The Management Core--Areas of Teacher Similarity

The value reinforcing behaviors seemed to cluster in certain activities (discussion, settling, and getting organized). Of the 41 behavior categories listed in Appendix 1, six of them, related to management and discipline matters, cluster together in a kind of "management core." All four teachers scored high on these, despite the ethnicity of the children they were teaching, their own ethnicity, the classroom climate, or the way in which they structured the school day.

These behaviors were:

1. Statements reminding students what the teacher wants or expects (15 percent of the total behavior coded).
2. Statements indicating a change of activity or when something will occur (10 percent of the total behavior coded).

3. Reprimands for not behaving (9 percent of the total).

4. Statements setting limits on or curtailing movement or talking (7 percent of the total).

5. Get-moving, get-to-work comments (6 percent of the total).

6. Dispatching orders ("Do this, and when you are through, do that!"), (5 percent of the total).

Although the individual percentages of occurrences are not in themselves high, the "management core" as a whole constitutes about 52 percent of the total number of value reinforcing behaviors emitted by all teachers.

Given that the classroom is a crowded public place[20] inhabited by highly mobile creatures, teachers must exercise these management controls in all classroom activities, though they are more prevalent in maintenance activities. They represent, then, a significant portion of the behavior a child is exposed to ,, and the values which they represent are presented to the child in heavy doses.

The core behaviors reflect dimensions of three of the four values--work, responsibility, and time. The dimensions which the core expresses are these:

1. Following the rules--responsibility

2. Living up to teacher expectations--responsibility

3. Keeping busy--work, time

4. Keeping quiet and motionless--responsibility

5. Sticking to the schedule--time

These are the key rules of the school; heeding them makes survival in school possible. The data indicate that teachers have no option as to whether or not they spend a great deal of time simply keeping things moving in an orderly fashion in their classrooms. The exigencies of the crowded classroom

dictate the importance of the management core--in classrooms as they are presently constituted. One could state that the management core represents the minimum demands of the school as an insitution, without which it would cease to function. The open classroom in my sample was no exception. The values of the core are also those which make for adequate performance in many kinds of jobs, since it expresses the requirements of life in factories, offices, and other work. The management core and its values do not, however, make allowances for the requirements of specific kinds of children.

The children do pick these values up regardless of their ethnicity; when I asked children what was the thing their teacher most wanted them to do, the response was, "Be quiet, don't fool around, and get our work done."

The Management Core and Conflict with the Spanish-American Child

Several of the areas where the schools and the values of Spanish-American students may come into conflict are found within the management core. It is important to bear in mind that the core does not seem to be optional; all teachers regardless of their intentions, approaches, or the ethnicity of their students must use the behaviors it includes. All children, then, are exposed to these values.

What are the areas of conflict? They seem to lie in the following areas:

1. Following rules and expectations enunciated by the teacher
2. Keeping quiet and overtly passive
3. Keeping busy
4. Ways of dividing up available time.

These may be areas of primary conflict with Spanish-American boys.[21]

It was earlier stated that Spanish men prize dominance, activeness, and male superiority. Hepner found that Mexican-American boys were less passive than Anglo boys,[22] and that while Spanish-American boys were quite emancipated from their mothers, Anglo-American boys were dependent, even "overdependent" upon them.[23]

These findings correspond to the phenomenon of machismo (roughly, "manliness") which is a primary point of orientation for Spanish-American males. When the Spanish-American boy enters the school, he finds that the activeness, dominance, and independence which spell success and respect in his own culture mean humiliation in the classroom. There, maintenance of classroom order and the flow of activities is predicated upon internalization of a rule structure and a set of expectations enunciated and enforced by the teacher, usually a woman, to whom the Spanish-American boy must acknowledge his subservience. That teachers do demand this subservience is indicated by the prevalence of remarks teahhers made telling children what these rules and expectations are--15 percent of the total number of behaviors coded fell into this category. That this is enforced is indicated by the number of reprimands--9 percent of the total.

This is not to say that Spanish and Anglo children do not accept the teacher as an authority; in interviews, they all indicated that they "had to do what the teacher said because she was the boss," and that they felt that children who did not do so were acting inappropriately. Since the children do accept the teacher role, the question then becomes to what extent are Spanish-American boys experiencing conscious or unconscious (yet real) conflict between the tradition of machismo, the rules of the classroom, and t their female teachers?

Earlier I indicated that children in all the classrooms spent a great deal of time engaged in passive activities; 54 percent of the time they spent in school was occupied with activities which did not allow them to move physically or respond verbally to other people or situations, except when they spoke briefly with the teacher. This passivity was reinforced by teacher behavior as well as classroom activity; they were subjected to a very large number of messages (7 percent of the total behavior coded) telling them to "sit down and shut up."

Perhaps this is a heavy dose of inactivity for any child, but it works particular hardship on Spanish boys, who express more desire for friendship and peer ties than Anglo boys[24] and whose culture is more oriented to movement and acting out activity than Anglo culture. An indication that this is true was cited earlier; Spanish children in the "open classroom" quarreled less, cooperated more among sexes, and were less involved in trouble-making than the other predominantly Spanish classroom, where movement and activity were severely circumscribed.

The school clearly embodies the Anglo notions of the virute of work and of keeping busy. Eleven percent of the messages which children received had to do with keeping busy, getting to work, or being told what to do as soon as they finished the present assignment. Spanish culture does not place such an emphasis on work for its own sake. Hepner found that Spanish boys did not value reading for its own sake, and were more interested than Anglo boys in technical and practical aspects of their schooling.[25] This immediate and instrumental approach to work and to school conflicts with the constant busy-work and future orientation of the school--where it is often impossible for children to see the purposes for their activity. This was

succinctly expressed by one teacher in a lesson on new math: "I know that it looks funny to divide this way, and the old way is probably easier. But the book says that this will help you in high school when you get to algebra . . . " and then, sotto voce, " . . . if you ever get there."

Finally, tension may arise from differences between Anglo and Spanish-American conceptions of time usage--a factor central to activities within the classroom. Spanish-Americans see time as a gift; Anglos as a commodity. The school stresses the Anglo concept; 10 percent of the behaviors coded were designed to emphasize and clarify the class schedule, and another large category consisted of remarks which told children to "hurry up" or "don't waste time."

The Discretionary Area

Outside the management core lies another series of activities which a teacher may engage in. It is these, rather than the core, which dictate what the atmosphere of her classroom will be, and what structure it will assume; although the management core is not entirely without valence, it can be administered gently or harshly, with consequent outcomes for structure and climate.

The discretionary behaviors which a teacher uses were finding those behaviors, other than the management core, upon which teachers received high frequency scores. These indicate the major themes of the classroom environment--the amount of initiative children are allowed to have, the degree of competition and anxiety expressed, the number of times teachers fail to respond to children or do so inappropriately, the degree to which they explain things, the kinds of sanctions used, and whether they are expressed in terms of personalized or institutional demands. One can say that the "management

core" expresses institutionalized demands, while the discretionary areas allow the teacher to express her personal demands. It is in response to both that the child expresses his demands, but there is little institutionalized means for these to be met. That is, the child, as a consumer of the educational product, has no institutionalized means of expressing his demands.

The data so far indicate that the most common discretionary behaviors are:

1. Statements stressing some kind of contract or reciprocal relationship between teacher and pupil
2. Explaining or clarifying policies, relationships, or problems encountered in school
3. Opportunities for the child to organize his own activities, schedule, or to do things himself
4. Statements which stress teacher pleasure as a sanction for obedience
5. Opportunities for the child to initiate topics for discussion
6. Rituals which produce order
7. Statements which interfere with a child's initiatives, or preferences, not responding to a child or embarrassing him
8. Encouraging a competitive atmosphere and anxious competition in question and answer sessions
9. Publicly announcing or posting grades

The Discretionary Area and Conflict with the Spanish-American Child

It must be remembered that the discretionary behaviors employed vary from teacher to teacher. Some of these behaviors are at variance with the values a Spanish-American child brings to school with him; some are not. A teacher who engages in those behaviors which do clash with Spanish-American values will exacerbate the difficulties of Spanish children, whereas a teacher whose personal preferences lead her to choose behavior patterns which do not clash with Spanish-American culture will ameliorate the culture conflict

which the management core makes inevitable.

One area of conflict is those discretionary behaviors which emphasize achievement and competition. These are:

1. Encouraging a competitive atmosphere and anxious competition in question-and-answer pessions
2. Publicly announcing or posting grades

Intense competition and success are not part of the Spanish-American culture complex; neither is the constant public recognition of one's achievement in the educational-occupational nexus. There are other areas where competition is important, but the teacher who emphasizes academic success and competition in her discretionary package may be subjecting a Spanish child to discomfort and humiliation. Another teacher behavior which may cause problems for the Spanish child is "statements which stress teacher pleasure as a sanction for obedience," or using the teacher's pleasure or good graces as a means of social control. Here, the value of one's behavior is measured not by some external criterion, but by the degree to which it pleases the teacher. This method of control works best where the child's lack of self-esteem creates a special need to be held in the teacher's high regard. Some studies led to the conclusion that this very common method of control may not work as well with Spanish-American children as with Anglo children given that Spanish-American children generally exhibit higher levels of self-acceptance, and self-esteem and less need to please than do their Anglo counterparts.[26] Hepner even suggests that a high level of self-acceptance and self-esteem may be inimical to academic achievement; perhaps when the inducements for achievement are predicated upon anxiety and competitiveness in students, and the sanctions for behavior are phrased in the personalistic manner described above, an insecure and slightly neurotic child might indeed be a higher academic achiever than

one who is better "adjusted."[27]

Other kinds of discretionary behaviors may help to create a comfortable environment for minority children. Teachers who provide many opportunities for children to initiate their own activities and topics of discussion can dispel the rigidity which constrains the Spanish-American child in the school system; these teachers allow more opportunity for movement and creative thinking, and help to foster the development of personal autonomy in their students.

What the Children Said

The students were asked to fill out a questionnaire consisting of 28 true and false questions, asking whether their teacher's behavior expressed the four values of the study--work, time, achievement evaluation, and responsibility. In addition, 12 pupils from each classroom were interviewed to indicate how this behavior was expressed, and to corroborate the field observations and the questionnaire. Data from the questionnaire show that there were no significant differences between ethnic groups. With the exception of the achievement index, where Spanish children were slightly more likely than Anglo children to stress the importance of grades and teacher evaluations, all the children agreed that the four values were important and that their teacher's behavior stressed them. It appears that despite the tensions created by their cultural background, these children are fully acquainted with and accept the work values of the dominant Anglo culture, at least as they are expressed in school.

Conclusions and Implications of the Study

The study examined teacher behavior and found that the similarities

among teachers were as important to the experience a child had in the classroom as the differences.

In the realm of similarities, the study indicated that there were a group of behaviors, called the management core, which relate to the people-handling and management aspects of classroom activity and which were employed by all of the teachers observed, despite the ethnicity of their students, or the structure or climate of their classrooms. The management core expresses Anglo notions of work, time, and teacher role. Because it does so, a study of the core suggests areas where tension may be created between these values, as stressed by the institutional demands of the school, and Spanish-American culture, as described in the literature.

Another area of potential tension lies in classroom activities; the dominant activity for all classrooms was individualized seatwork which requires a degree of passivity and isolation unfamiliar to a Spanish-American child. Passivity and isolation are reinforced by teacher behavior as well; a high proportion of teacher talk is devoted to enforcing quiet and limiting movement. In addition, Spanish was not spoken in any of the classrooms, and ability grouping was used in all of them. The children were publicly and continually evaluated by their academic performance and ranked according to success standards which are foreign and perhaps humiliating to Spanish-Americans.

Differences among teachers existed in a discretionary area--behaviors which were not essential to the basic operation of the classroom, but which a teacher might adopt as expressive of her own personal style of teaching. Some of these, especially those which emphasize competition or a personalized set of sanctions for obedience, may create value conflicts in Spanish-

American children, while others may create a more congenial atmosphere for them as they ameliorate the impact of the management core.

The study suggests a paradox: The schools express a set of work norms and values which are deeply imbedded in Anglo culture. The socializing function of the school apparently is effective, because the Spanish-American children in the study indicated awareness of these norms and values, and agreed that behaving in accordance with them is crucial to success in school. But the values and behaviors necessary for success in school are quite different from those which the literature indicates are rewarded in Spanish-American culture.

One needs to ask why Spanish-American children say that they agree with these values despite their cultural background; and further, why they do agree with the same norms and values as Anglo children, yet do not do as well in school, in the aggregate, as Anglos do.

One explanation might be that Spanish-American children learn what the rules of school are, but simply refuse to abide by them, turning off to school and dropping out. In the elementary school children I observed, this was not apparent. Another explanation might be that the teachers in Valley school, and others with high concentrations of Spanish-Americans, expect less from their students, push them less and give them easier materials and fewer intellectual challenges. Without embarking on a comparative longitudinal study of Valley and Heights schools, this could not be determined, but the materials studied by the children, at least, were comparable.

The low achievement levels in Spanish-American children might be explained by a phenomenon found among welfare recipients and the hard-core unemployed. It has been said that these people are poor and unsuccessful

because they do not internalize in the "work ethic." Recent studies, however, indicate that the very poor do participate in the work ethic; in fact, they "over-participate" in it.[28] Their degree of internalization is even higher than other less disadvantaged segments of the population, and creates for them a dilemma: they have the greatest belief in the work ethic and the least capacity for living up to it. Their incapacity leads them to guilt feelings and lowered self-esteem which may incapacitate them further.

Similarly, Spanish-American children may accept the values of the school without having the background or cultural supports to operationalize them; they may expend great energy adapting and have little left for learning. Part of the handicap may be that parents may support their children and want to help them through school, but be unable to be very helpful in teaching them how to succeed in school. This has been indicated among lower-income black families; the parents are supportive of schooling for their children but are often unable to give their children school skills in the same ways a middle class white family does. Davidson[29] found that Spanish-American high school graduates cited their parents as their greatest source of encouragement for continuing school--as opposed to teachers, principals and school staff, who contributed very little; but however supportive parents are, they may be unskilled in the techniques of "making it" in school.

A further explanation for high drop-out rates of Spanish-American students may be in the differences between modes of determining self-worth and success in Spanish-American and Anglo culture. Anglo culture measures success by academic and occupational achievement almost exclusively; Spanish-American culture is not so uni-dimensional. Since Spanish-American children

already have high self-acceptance levels and high self-esteem developed in other situations, the success in school may be irrelevant to them. If this is true, then there may be no real incentive to "make it" in school, especially when the pay-off for schooling lies so far in the future.

High school completion rates are slightly higher for Spanish-Americans in Albuquerque than in other urban areas with large concentrations of Spanish-Americans, but they are still under-represented. On one hand, the somewhat more comfortable New Mexican environment might explain the lower high school drop-out rates, given that the children do not live in so "foreign" a country; on the other hand, the acculturation pattern in New Mexico, which enables Spanish-Americans to cling more closely to traditional values and behavior patterns suggests that the children may be internalizing a set of values appropriate for school, but isolating school life and the values it represents from the remainder of their life experience. Such behavior would be congruent with the phenomenon of "over-participation" which was described earlier, but further study will be needed to determine more precisely the effect of the New Mexican culture context.

In any case, in the absence of more detailed data about the specific value framework of the children in the study, the data do indicate certain areas which are of particular concern for educators of Spanish-American children--that is, the management core, and certain of the discretionary behaviors. Given the continued existence of public schools and their institutional demands, it seems that these cannot be altered, only softened in their impact. But the impact can indeed be softened; this can be done by an alteration of the discretionary behaviors teachers employsso that their classroom climate and teaching style are more congruent with the needs of their minority pupils.

FOOTNOTES

1. Joan W. Moore and Alfredo Cuellar, Mexican Americans (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

2. Walter Craig Davidson, "The Mexican-American High School Graduate of Laredo," a Laredo Independent School District Study, 1969.

3. See Moore and Cuellar, Mexican Americans, for a discussion of Mexican-Americans in both rural and urban settings.

4. Nancie L. Gonzalez, The Spanish Americans of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), p. 137.

5. Raymond Teske, Jr. and Bardin H. Nelson, "Status Mobility Patterns among Middle Class Mexican Americans in Texas: A Theoretical Orientation," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Denver, Colorado, August 28, 1971, p. 16.

6. Ibid., p. 17.

7. Andrew M. Greeley,

8. Gonzalez, Spanish Americans of New Mexico, p. 133.

9. See Thomas P. Carter, "The Negative Self-Concept of Mexican-American Students," School and Society, 96, 2306 (March, 1968); Richard DeBlassie and Gary W. Healy, Self Concept: A Comparison of Spanish American, Negro, and Anglo Adolescents Across Ethnic, Sex, and Socio-economic Variables, ERIC, Clearing House on Rural Education and Small Schools, Las Cruces, New Mexico, March, 1970; Neal Justin, "Culture Conflict and Mexican American Achievement," School and Society, 98, (January, 1970): 27-8; Geraldine Dunne Palomares, "The Effects of Stereotyping on Self-Concepts of Mexican Americans," Southwest Co-operative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1970.

10. Bernard Valdez, "Contrasts Between Spanish Folk and Anglo Urban Cultural Values," State of California Department of Social Welfare, Department of Institutions, November, 1964.

11. John H. Burma, Spanish Speaking Groups in the United States (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1954), p. 23.

12. Arnold S. Feldman and Wilbert Moore, Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1966).

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13. Robert Dreeben, On What Is Learned In School (Reading, Mass.: Addison Wesley Publishing Co., 1968).

14. Gonzalez, Spanish-Americans of New Mexico, p. 21.

15. Children who must learn in a language different from their mother tongue spend more time mastering the medium of instruction than in learning curriculum content. They are doubly handicapped if they are punished for speaking Spanish, because as their proficiency in English increases, they may be in contact with rural relatives, who do not speak English at all. Such children fit neither Anglo nor traditional Spanish-American culture.

16. An exception is when a period of seatwork has been heavily sprinkled with a behavior called "opportunities for children to organize their own activities." This is free time, and children may be moving about, organizing their own activities, but for the most part they will be acting by themselves, or if together, quietly and in very small groups. Only one teacher allowed significant amounts of free time.

17. The remainder consists of activities such as breaks to go to the restroom, and organization of school activities such as selling carnival tickets and listening to the intercom.

18. There is a very different pattern of interaction between teacher and student in an open class room than in a traditional one. In the latter, the teacher tends to interact with groups of students for relatively long periods of time; in the former, the teacher moves constantly from child to child, working mostly on an individualized basis but for short periods of time.

19. Phillip Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

20. Ibid.

21. There is little comparable material on the behavior of Spanish-American girls.

22. Ethel M. Hepner, "The American Elementary School versus the Values and Needs of Mexican American Boys," Lynwood Unified School District, Lynwood, California, May, 1971, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Study, #0-1-062, p. 21.

23. Ibid., p. 43.

24. Ibid., p. 23.

25. Ibid., p. 43.

26. Ibid., p. 23; and Palomares, "Effects of Stereotyping on Self-Concepts,"

27. See Bruno Bettleheim, The Children of the Dream, for a discussion of achievement and anxiety in Israeli kibbutzim children.

28. See Leonard Goodwin's study of welfare clients and the hard-core unemployed sponsored by the Brooking. Institution.

29. Davidson, "Mexican-American High School Graduates."

APPENDIX 1

TIME

T1A--Visual schedules displayed, notes or reminders for kid's appointments written on the board; reminders of special classes; writing the assignments on the board; putting up clock faces or other reminders of when to do things.

T1B--Cutting off an activity whether it's finished or not because of the schedule. Ex: children aren't finished with an activity but the teacher tells them to put things away and start something else, or stop what they are doing and do something else; or bell rings and teacher comments about "not being finished but we have to go," or talks of interruptions "messing up the schedule," or things being disorganized. Citing things which disrupt the smooth flow of the schedule.

T1C--Preparatory rituals which signal a new activity or emphasize the schedule. Ex: teacher tells children to line up, or fold their hands and get ready, or straighten their desks each day at the same time so they know it signals something new, or they do so without being told because of past habituation. Its primary purpose is getting ready to do something else.

T2A--Statements signaling the end of one activity and the beginning of another, or telling when something will be done. Ex: statements like "Now put your books away." "Take out your spellers." "Let's do reading now." "It's time for recess." "Tomorrow we'll do a story." "This afternoon we have three things to do, ___, ___, and ___."

T2B--Hurrying up, rushing. Statements which simply tell a child to hurry up, and which aren't necessarily related to a specific work; they only mean move faster. Ex: "Come on, let's go. Hurry up."

T2C--Non-judgmental comments about being late. Ex: teacher notices that a child, or his work, is late, but doesn't scold him for it. Or, notices that the class is late, e.g., "We're late getting started today, so let's get out our readers and begin." Code T2C, T2A.

T2D--Citing activities as inappropriate for the time they are being engaged in. Ex: Telling a child or group of children that they should not be doing what they are doing at that particular time. "Put the clay away; this is study time." or, "Don't work on your reading now, I want you to study spelling." It most frequently refers to an attempt of the child to play or talk during work time or do something noisy during quiet time or story-telling.

ERIC

T2E--Statements reminding students of emphasized deadlines, or when things are due, or are expected to be finished. Reminders, like, "Are you finished," or queries about "If you are finished, then you can . . . ."

T3A--Punishments or reprimands for being late, either handing in work late or or coming in late.

T3B--Making time a punishment by shifting the schedule, holding kids over for recess, not letting them go until they are quiet, even if the bell has rung.

T3C--Speaking of time as a commodity. Ex: "Spend five minutes on this." "Time goes fast if you use it wisely." "I'll give you time for that." "You have so much time to do your spelling."

WORK

W1B--Dispatching--teacher gives short commands, telling individual children or small groups what to do. They don't involve explanations, just orders, giving assignments, passing papers with instructions. Ex: "John, finish page three, Mary get your reading book out and do lesson four." "Susie, if you're finished with spelling, do your workbook."

W2A--Get-moving, get-to-work comments. Comments designed to make a child start working immediately or work harder or faster on what he's doing. They are aimed at the accomplishment of a specific activity, or some kind of work. Ex: "George, do you have nothing to do?" "Come on, you have work to do." "What are you doing? Get moving!"

W2B--Moral lectures--on the distinction between work and play, on the necessity of work in school. Ex: suggesting that school is a place where it is necessary to work, as opposed to play, suggesting that the kids can or should accomplish a great deal in a given period of time by working hard. It is not used as a reprimand, though it may follow one. Ex: "We have work to do today." "That was fun, but now we have to do some work." "Boys and girls, it's time to stop playing around and get some work done."

W2D--Descriptive comments that a person is working, meant to encourage others to do so. Ex: "I see that Mary is hard at work." "George is doing his spelling"--implying that others should do so. "Larry wants to work, how about you?"

W3A--Detention for not working--staying after school or recess.

W3B--Isolation for not working--making a child sit by himself for threatening to do so.

W3C--Reprimand to individual or group for not working, or for playing.

ACHIEVEMENT

A1A--Time tests, teacher gives the children a limited amount of time in which to accomplish a task.

A1C--Competition, building competitive anxiety in question and answer sessions. Children vie frantically with one another to be called upon. Teacher calls on those who don't have hands up, or waits for a while to see how many hands go up before calling on anyone. A tremendous amount of frustration gets expressed and the kids seem desperate to have the teacher notice them.

A1D--Emphasizing that grades will be given. "I'm going to check those." "No, we won't check this paper but we'll record the grades on tomorrow's."

A3A--Putting marks on charts which indicate one's grades. Each time the teacher put up names or grades on the blackboard indicating how well children had done, or gave them stars to put on a chart, etc.

A3B--Oral recitation of grades by children or teacher. Children read off their grades to the teacher, or recite them back for recording, or teacher reads off the grades publicly.

A3C--Publicly singling out a child because his work is good, praising him. Singling out a child as a good example of schoolwork, doing it for others to hear.

A4 --Reprimanding a child for poor work; using grades as a sanction. Lowering a child's grade for a punishment. Reprimanding a child for not knowing an answer.

A5 --Speaking privately to a child about the quality of his work so that others can't hear--either at the child's desk or the teacher's.

A6 --Spelling out criteria for grades, telling children what they have to do in order to get a given grade. Explicitly spelling out performance criteria. "I took off ___ for."

RESPONSIBILITY

R1A--Statements which tell children what the teacher wants, what her expectations for behavior are. What she wants to happen or for the children to do; it can be a "don't," but without the sting of a reprimand--it is simply spelling out policy. Ex: "While I'm gone, I want you to behave." "I know you know what to do, so do it."

R1B--Interfering with children's initiative, not responding to children's needs, frustrating or embarrassing them. Ex: Not letting children work together. Not responding to their questions or putting them off.

Publicly embarrassing them. Overriding class decisions, like the results of elections. Ignoring a child's answers. Not getting to the bottom of squabbles and glossing over them.

R1C--Appeals to higher authority. Ex: "If you don't behave, I'll tell the principal." or hints at parental involvement like "Do you want me to send this papar home?" "What would your mother say about this?" "What's the matter with you--I'm calling your parents." (R2G, R1C)

R2A--Rituals which are order-producing--specifically aimed at quieting kids down. Like a code word which means "I'm at the end of my patience, shut up." Making children put their heads on their desks. Turning off the lights till it gets quiet.

R2B--Stating rules or performance standards as personal desires or preferences of the teacher. Telling the kids she likes what a particular student is doing, implying that everybody else should do likewise. Ex; "I like the way Mary is sitting so quietly."

R2C--Statements setting limits on talking or moving. Verbally telling children to stop talking, stop doing what they are doing, stop walking around, be quiet.

R2D--Using spelling words or practice sentences as a means for emphasizing behavioral rules or preferences teacher has for student behavior.

R2E--Confiscation of a child or his property. Sending a child out of the room or taking his property away from him and not giving it back, also threatening to do the same.

R2F--Preventive Maintenance--The teacher foresees a behavior problem and acts to stop it before it starts. That is, keeps a boy known for talking from sitting with his friend, or moves the student's desks farther apart so they won't be "tempted to talk."

R2G--Reprimand for not behaving. A "don't" or disapproval from the teacher of any act done by a students of hers, like not paying attention, or a question in dictating disapproval like, "What are you doing? (for Pete's sake, cut it out!)" An exception would be a reprimand for poor academic work, (A4), though this could be combined with a reprimand.

R2H--Punishments which reduce freedom or fun. Taking away some kind of free time or fun time, as a punishment. Not letting kids use some materials they like because they have "abused" the privileges; taking away recess or part of lunch hour; giving them busy work or more structures and boring work as a punishment.

R3 --Statements emphasizing adult behavior as a desirable standard. Ex: "Grow up." "Act your age." "You don't want people to think you are a third grader." Comments about the "age appropriateness" of a given behavior.

R4A--Statements emphasizing a kind of deal, or reciprocal relationship between the teacher and students. The teacher promises to do something for kids in return for some action of theirs, or kids remind teacher of something she has promised to do for them and which she carries through for them. "If you do this, I'll do that." Statements expressing a person's responsibility and accountability in his behavior. "If you drop it, you clean it up."

R4B--Explaining and clarifying policies, relationships, problem encountered. The teacher explains why things have to be done in a certain way, especially school rules and policies, or tries to help children understand the dynamics of their fights or interpersonal problems. It can be empathy training, in how other people feel or why things are the way they are, not just a simple "do it or else."

R5A--Opportunities for the child to organize his own activities, schedule, or to do things oneself. Times when a child or children aren't doing specific assigned work and can do their own thing. Or, can do their assigned work on whatever schedule they want, with free time inbetween. I tried to code this each time it became possible for a few children to have such opportunities. When it wasn't so possible, I coded on time intervals of five minutes.

R5B--Opportunities to initiate topics of discussion--when a child initiates a topic of discussion and the teacher allows it and picks up on it. Or when a child suggests an alternate answer to a question and the teacher allows it.

6 --Presentation of the teacher's own values. Things she has political or emotional or moral attachment to and presents to students.

APPENDIX 2

CATEGORIES OF CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES

Passive Activitées

1. Seatwork--children are working individually at their desks, usually interacting with neither the teacher or other students.

2. Circulating--children are in "seatwork;" teacher moves about the room helping individual children or exercising surveillance over activities.

3. Tutoring--children are at "seatwork;" teacher is seated at her desk. Individual children come, one by one, to her for help at her desk.

4. Reading a story--the teacher reads a story aloud to the students.

5. Other--a category consisting primarily of watching TV and movies or visiting lecturers or of going to the library, where after finding books, the children sat quietly and read.

Responsive Activities

6. Discussion--a combination of question and answer plus discussion which, in elementary schools, seems to serve the same function which lecturing does in higher education--presentation of information.

7. Checking--grading papers, answers are read while students grade their own or others' papers.

8. Boardwork--teacher gives children problems to work on the blackboard.

9. Explication--teacher gives explicit instructions for assignments.

10. Games--relays, spelling bees, competitive team activities.

11. Reading aloud--children read from a text to the teacher.

Maintenance Activities

12. Getting organized--collecting materials, passing them out, changing activities, giving orders, telling children what to do next.

13. Settling down--teacher gets children seated and quiet so activity can continue or another one can begin.